121 /3 cont./ of an investigation into the driving forces of Makassarese-Buginese culture was always present as a companion motivation for the work on adat law, because, as it was then formulated, the law cannot be understood without a knowledge of the society in which it operates.

After the war, in 1948, when the problem of how the latent knowledge of this culture could be made productive was considered, the decision was made to give a description of its structure. To this end an investigation of an area already [114] familiar to me from before the war was carried out for six weeks during June and July of both 1948 and 1949.

If the presentation of a structural description is regarded as the task /4/ of the investigator, then it is necessary to give his theoretical schooling. The latter was determined by the lectures of de Josselin de Jong at Leiden and was later developed further by studying Linton's work.

121 114 It appears impossible to treat as a separate factor the third aspect, namely the investigator's personal attitude. This would amount to an analysis of his personality. However, the disadvantage that personal attitude inevitably entails so long as just one investigator is describing a community was always strongly felt by me. I gladly give support to Wagley when he agrees with the Chinese sociologist Li An-Che, who declares that an area study of China "must be executed with the cooperation of Western and Chinese scholars, and that for an understanding of American society we should call upon non-American -- even non-Western -- students as well as upon our own" (1) /cited in

1. Pamphlet No. 6 published by the Social Science Research Council, New York, 1948, p. 7.

English/.

● 161 The Makassarese and the Buginese at the present time number almost four million people. For hundreds of years they have

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14,000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

[554 A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilometers further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen
[621] /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

/254 cont./ Registration Register

114 217 ● 161 [65] The Registration Register is, in view of its makeup, probably designed to give a picture of the number of able-bodied men and the tax to be rendered by them in each kampong territory.

Next to the column in which the name of the man is recorded, there is one showing the number of his wives, his children, buffaloes, and horses; his profession, his age, the amount he must pay in income tax, and so forth. Unmarried and able-bodied young men have their own place in the register. The youngest of these was nineteen years old.

This register cannot serve to indicate the total number of residents because houses in which a widow lives with children are not recorded. If a young man is around nineteen years of age, he receives a place in the register, but not his mother and younger brothers and sisters. Houses without a male head of the family are therefore not included in it.

The register apparently was not kept up regularly. Some newborn children were not entered, and some deceased were not written off. I was told by the administration that the total number of those entered increased by 10 per cent after the distribution of kain was done on the basis of this register. This 10 per cent appeared to consist mainly of unmarried women and girls.

Compared to my own card system of the residents of /255/ Bontoramba, 17 men (or boys) and 104 women (or girls) were not registered, altogether 121, or around 15 per cent, for a total of 803 residents. The increase of 10 per cent just mentioned had already taken place then.

The estimated age is recorded only for the men entered in the register. The observation made in the 1930 Census Report, that age estimates are unreliable was here confirmed. A man of 47 years appeared to have a son of 38. Several men would have been fathers in their twelfth year. The oldest man of the kampong was estimated at 66 years of age. In these

114 /255 cont./ estimates there appeared to be a clear preference
217 for certain numbers which, in my opinion, make it risky to
draw further conclusions from this. Eleven men were estimated
161 as 40 years of age, 10 as 50, and 9 as 52; but according to
this estimate, only 2 men were 39 years old, only one 41 or 42
years old, while there were supposedly no men of 51, 53, 54,
55, 56, 57, and 59 years of age residing in the kampong.

School Registers

114 The school registers, which are kept very accurately by the
217 head of the school and checked by inspectors of the Department,
871 are in very good condition.

Each child is entered in the register according to name, sex, name of the father, and name of the person paying the tuition; date of entrance, grade promotions, date of leaving school, and reason for leaving school. The children's place of residence is not entered in the register.

Up to 1945 the public school in Bontomanai was the only school in the adat community of Borongloë with its more than 14,000 inhabitants. This school was established in 1923 but led a rather precarious existence until 1936. The number of pupils was small. In the second half of 1935 a new director of the school was appointed, and the number of pupils immediately soared steeply. The number of newly enrolled pupils numbered:

1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
12	70	37	78	64	17

Altogether, therefore, 278 children were enrolled, of whom 197 (72 per cent) were boys, and 81 (28 per cent) girls. The decrease in 1940 is due to the circumstance that the Inspector believed /256/ that there were too many pupils at the school and that the instruction was suffering from this.

For the instruction at this three-year public school there was, in addition to the school director mentioned, a single assistant instructor. The two men divided up the three classes in such a way that one class in turn was free or else worked by itself.

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
●161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
592 houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and
207 Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar, and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard
563 something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
161 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets